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Notes on the contents of this issue.

Toyohiko Kagawa died in April, 1960 after nearly half a century of pioneering work in Christian social action in Japan. "An Essay on Kagawa Toyohiko" by Prof. Cho originally appeared in the Shiso no Kagaku (Science of Thought) for January and February 1960, and was later translated and published in English for Asian Cultural Study of the International Christian University. We have taken the liberty of republishing this remarkable essay, in a slightly condensed form. Mrs. Kiyoko Takeda Cho is assistant professor of Christian ethics at the International Christian University in Tokyo. She has been active in ecumenical discussion in Japan and is well known for her translation of Reinhold Niebuhr into Japanese.

The struggle of the African in Northern Rhodesia to gain full political control of his country has gone through many stages and seems now to be reaching a new point of intensity. Recent meetings with and speeches by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the leader of the United National Independence Party help to indicate the mounting demand for self rule by the African community in Northern Rhodesia.

The problem of relations between the overseas Chinese and the indigenous people in many South-East Asian countries, is acute and has many political, economic, cultural and social implications which merit the serious consideration of Christians everywhere. We are indebted to Mr. Hood, a British Methodist missionary in Malaya for an analytical description of the problem.

Prof. Walter W. Sikes describes in the final essay the work of the Disciples of Christ Special Study Commission on Rapid Social Change, and more particularly the recent visit of this Commission to two countries of the Carribean. Dr. Sikes is professor of social ethics in Christian Theological Seminary (Disciples) at Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, and is at present a member of the staff of the Department on Church and Society, World Council of Churches, for the year 1961.

I

AN ESSAY ON KAGAWA OF JAPAN
- The Place of Man in His Social Theory -

By

Prof. Kiyo Takeda Cho

> "...our country's labour unions have just barely been established. At this early date, by rushing into an emotional and impatient movement and by rejoicing in useless radicalism, we may cause even more severe oppression from unsympathetic officals. Such rashness may also separate the union from its more conservative members. We must not forget the bitter experiences we have suffered in the past. We should always bear in mind the fact that the labour union must never be allowed to become the tool of a faction whose purpose is destructive. In conclusion, I want to quote part of a speech Lenin gave to labourers in England. Even the great Lenin himself advised: 'Labour unions, proceed slowly and gradually.' "

This is from a speech Kagawa delivered in the Osaka Tennoji Public Hall on October 2, 1920, to the famous convention celebrating the eighth year of the founding of the Yuaikai, a leading labour organization. The focal point of that meeting was the controversy between a parliamentary policy and direct action. Kagawa, who opposed the use of force, had been chosen leader of the Kansai (or West Japan) faction but the Kanto (or East Japan) faction, under the influence of anarchical syndicalism, was against universal suffrage, disapproved of the Diet's action and advocated Direct Action. The convention that Kagawa addressed was one in which the Kanto faction had gained dominance.

Yokoyama Junichi relates in detail in A Biography of Kagawa Toyohiko how, amid shouts of: "Down with Kagawa's non-violence!" "Away with the Christian Priest!" and "Lord of the Slums!", the song of Kanto's triumph arose. Syndicalism spread even in Kansai and the Direct Action Movement came into its heyday. After that the faction led by Aso Hisashi and others clamored to "Oust Kagawa from the labour union world!" The syndicalist publication carried articles attacking Kagawa personally. "Until now Kagawa has been the front for the Salvation Army, Orphanages, and the licensed quarters. Moreover, he has played the buffoon of the Christian Priests who come from America, and has made these his secret sources of income. The slums which are his front to the world are only his treasure house." Such slanderous accounts appeared frequently.

It is all too well known that Kagawa was a leader of the executive committee for the 1921 labour dispute (about 35,000 people participated) at the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi Ship Yards in June and July of that year. The uprising was suppressed and Kagawa was imprisoned by authorities who had enough power almost to bury Kobe in policemen.

Kagawa Not Fully Understood

Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960) was deeply involved in the labour movement of the Taisho Period (1912-1926).

However, many other images of Kagawa can be painted: He was the evangelist who worked self sacrificingly in the Kobe slums of Shinkawa in Fukiai; a famous social worker; the author of innumerable books including a best seller of that time, Across the Line of Death, and the preacher who converted one or two hundred farmers to Christianity at one time. He is the man whom the world called "the Saint of Japan"; the representative of Christians; and a man nominated several times for the Nobel Prize. Within Japan however, he was not considered to be as great a man as Westerners are led to believe. Even within Japanese Christian circles he was treated with an air of indifference. Perhaps some of the Japanese Christians felt antipathy towards him, or felt that he did not present such a model of a devout Christian because he was far too versatile and had great ability in many worldly pursuits. Some people criticized his practice of inspiring several hundred people to fill out decision cards after but one address on Christianity, because such converts become indifferent soon afterwards. These critics claim that the solid Japanese church is planted carefully in the soil of saved souls individually cultivated and converted. Showy evangelism is distrusted.

Even within the labour and socialist movements Kagawa was often criticized on the grounds that his real support was for the capitalists, or that he devoted his real efforts to applying the brakes to the progress of the Socialst Camp. According to Yamakawa Hitoshi, one of the outstanding leaders of the left socialist group, Kagawa, while seeming to side with the labourers, was a wolf dressed in sheep's clothing whose real support was for the capitalists. Perhaps such criticism in based on the mud-slinging personal criticism leveled by the above-mentioned opposition within the Yuaikai. But again it might be the inevitable result of ideological opposition which I will take up as my main subject.

To some extent it is possible to understand and sympathize with the critical appraisals of Kagawa Toyohiko's weak points. However, above and beyond this, there is good cause to re-examine and appraise the true nature of Kagawa's thought and works which has been overlooked and treated rather indifferently in Japan.

Kagawa, Psychologist of the Poor

Kagawa, at the age of twenty-one, went to live in the Shinkawa slums on the day before Christmas, 1909. The ideas of such Christian socialists as Charles Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice, Arnold Toynbee, who did such valuable work in the London slums, and Canon Barnett, the builder of Toynbee Hall, left such a deep impression on Kagawa that after he had finished Meiji Gakuin and Kobe Seminary, he decided that his mission was in the slums. The situation of the Shinkawa slums, reputedly the area of the highest population density in Japan, is described in his biography:

> I entered the Shinkawa slums on December 24 with my school friend Ito Teiji helping me push my cart of luggage....The house had five mats space, three in the front and two in the back. According to the gossip, a poor man had been murdered there last year and spots of spattered blood still remained on the walls. It was said that his ghost still haunted the neighbourhood so no one lived in the house.. Because I was unable to afford five tatami mats, I bought three old ones for one yen twenty sen each...There wasn't any lamp so I slept alone in the pitch darkness. On December 25, while I was still in bed, Mr. Inagi Yukitaro whom I had met through roadside evangelism came and asked if he could share my room. After that Hayashi Jiro and Maruyama Hyokichi also came to live there. The back of Maruyama's hand was covered with scabies....
>
> On December 28 the ragman Izu who had rheumatism came to stay. Yuki came. Her father and Yoshida also came. A man of about 40 with rheumatism came on his wife's back and asked for Christian faith healing...I caught Maruyama's scabies and the itch bothered me so much I was unable to sleep at night.
>
> Inagi came in early on the morning of December 29. He produced a sharp blade and asked for ten yen to use as capital for a rice cake shop because times were hard. Then Hayashi came and threateningly demanded ten yen. I roared at Inagi and made him flee. Then Sonoda Umpei came and flourishing a pistol demanded thirty yen. I didn't say a word. Sonoda and Hayashi started to quarrel and Maruyama acted as mediator.
>
> ...That night about 7.00 Sonoda rushed in, plunged at me and struck my cheek three or four times. He tossed a pot of burning charcoal on the straw mat and wrecked a paper sliding door. I escaped through the back door and went to the river bank and prayed.

So Kagawa started what turned out to be more than ten years of work in the slums. He engaged in preaching, carried medicine for the sick from house to house, organized and taught groups of children, brought up an infant whom he had rescued from death at the hands of its stepfather, and performed many other charitable services including the mediation of quarrels. Desiring to enrich the lives of the inhabitants of Shinkawa, he opened a cheap restaurant called Tengokuya (Store of Heaven), but because many of his customers ate and fled without paying, it was impossible to stay in business.

Kagawa was the son of his father's mistress, which caused him much suffering. In addition, when he was yet an infant both his father and his mother died leaving him to be raised by his father's cold-hearted wife. Having suffered in these ways he was able to sympathize with the poor whose existence had reached the very lowest depths, and because he knew from experience the conditions of the poor, he was able to face their problems squarely.

His Research on the Psychology of the Poor (published in 1915) is the first report on his life in the slums. This book shows very clearly his attitude toward the problems of the poor. Within a sympathetic context, he was able to approach these problems academically and at the same time practically:

> "The effects of the bitterness of poverty upon individual spiritual health were made very real to me through living in the slums. Things are so wretched that I cannot speak or write about them without being overwhelmed by pessimism. Twenty or thirty years ago, materialism began to emphasize that the solution of the problem of bread was the sole solution to all the spiritual problems of life. As day after day I experienced pathetic stories in the slums, I grew gradually closer to the thought that in this case Marx was really right. However, man's spiritual life is really valuable. It is like the physiological miracle of neutrons which simultaneously are differentiated from protoplasm, and are in complete control of the nature of the protoplasm. No matter how poor people are and no matter how much basic pressure the needs of diet and climate exert, spiritual life is a kind of surface tension which can perform miraculous phenomenon such as we witness everytime we see a battle ship afloat."

Kagawa investigated the relationship between material life and spiritual life by a systematic study of the relatively ignored psychology of the poor. In this attempt he faced such problems as: "To what extent does bread oppress the spirit?". "How much truth is there in Feuerbach's assertion that man is the bread which he eats?" "To what extent can the spiritual life of man transcend his material life?"

Kagawa made use of many disciplines: economics, social psychology, and many other branches of psychology, such as psychopathology, female psychology, criminal psychology, mob psychology, racial psychology, abnormal psychology, and the psychology of religion. Besides living among the poor he examined traditional folk songs which, although seemingly meaningless, contain many psychologically significant revelations of the subconscious impulses of the poor. He also read as many novels and newspapers as he could. His reseach, however, did not reveal any interrelationships among the various academic branches of learning which might yield a meaningful synthesis.

The first volume of his Research on the Psychology of the Poor deals with "A Definition of the Poor" as "Man who Lacks Material Goods" and goes into the natural and the human causes for the origin of the poor, a history of the poor, and a general survey of the poor and the slums in Japan. The second volume, A Study of the Influences of Lack of Material Goods on the Spirit discusses

the influence on human psychology of the difficulties of life in such areas as illness among the poor, the rate of injury among the poor, residence, food, and clothing. It is however, the third volume, A Study of the Spirit of Humanity Lacking in Material Goods, that is of special interest. This is a long book of 654 pages filled with a great number of very interesting events rather than a scholarly or systematic work. It is filled with many concrete facts which illustrate how many distortions there are in the knowledge, the feelings and the will of the poor because of their lack of material goods. Along with touching on psychological feelings, sexual passion, and kinds of entertainment, he deals in great detail with the songs of the poor and their vaudeville theatre.

The songs of the lower classes, originated with, and made popular by them, revealed slums clearly as a wretched place. Kagawa claims that starvation, adultery, unemployment, immorality, perseverance, grief, domestic unrest, and misery are all revealed through these songs. Besides this, the poor are almost fanatical in their liking for vaudeville and plays. At 1 or 2 o'clock at night, Kagawa would stand near the exit of a theatre and watch the faces of the poor as they came out. In their fascination with the play, the poor forgot the weariness of the long day. The difference between reality and the play disappeared, and the things learned from the play would become part of their daily emotions, decisions, and actions.

Kagawa's studies, "Flight by Night" and "Quarrels," are very interesting. (The word "study" is used, but in Kagawa's case this means more an introduction to the facts than an analysis). After stating that the poor enjoy quarrels, he adds that quarrels are interesting to humanity, and that "I entered the slums because I am interested in quarrels."

Kagawa recorded, with a surprising degree of vividness, the many quarrels that occurred in the slums. These make up his Dairy of Quarrels. In a Study of Slum Personalities Kagawa sketches various human characters: the vagabond, the beggar, the prostitute, the drinker, the loafer, the gambler, and the juvenile delinquent. In discussing the religion of the poor he explains their idolatrous, superstitious nature and describes in detail the dark world of the slums dominated by idolatry.

It is surprising to note that in his A Study of the Psychology of the Poor Kagawa used as early as the Taisho Period, the approach of an academic group now prominent in Japan called Shiso no Kagaku, or "The Science of Thought". He was able to do this because he placed himself in the midst of the lives of the slum dwellers and tried to trace their thought pattern pragmatically, rather than to judge them with some ready-made measure or abstract concept of imported "academic theory". As a man barely out of his youth, he observed the poor without falling into sentimentalism and with a surprising amount of sober objectivity. I find myself impressed by his soberness. It might be said that Kagawa saw the true reality and conditions of the poor probably more starkly and more concretely than any other Japanese Christian or social worker of that period. Compared with his, the approach of the youth of the Shinjinkai (Association of New Man), who were the pioneers of the democratic movement during the Taisho Period under the leadership of Yoshino Sakuzo, a prominent Christian democrat in Japan, was far too romantic: "I was searching for a love.

And I found one. The labourer is my love. I can't wait for his palid face to become cheerful. To make him laugh now is the first step of love." (Democracy, No. 3). Kagawa's method of looking at the real conditions and thought of the labourers shows a much superior realization and understanding.

Kagawa on Economic and Religious Values

The problems first raised in his A Study of the Psychology of the Poor, e.g. the interrelatedness of the material and the spiritual life, "To what extent does bread regulate the spirit?" and "To what extent can the spiritual life transcend the material life?" are not fully developed or answered in this work. His point that human life is distorted by the lack of bread is lost in the overabundance of examples, which, however, make the book a vivid and very interesting survey of actual conditions. Kagawa, it must be noted, continues to pursue these unsolved problems in such later works as Spiritual and Social Movements (1919) and Human Suffering and Human Construction (1920)

To inquire into the depth of the problem of understanding the people who live in the slums and are battered by poverty-caused suffering, Kagawa raised questions about the history of human brutality, the history of the pressure of machines on man, the philosophy of suffering, the treatment of suffering in various countries, ideas of Evil, etc. This kind of approach is unique in the development of Socialistic Thought in Japan.

> "Jesus once said, 'You cannot serve both God and Mammon'. If this were taken in its narrow sense with economic values for Mammon and religious values for God, it could be said that Jesus held a dualistic view. However, if one understands the Spirit of Jesus, he can see that economic and spiritual values do not form a dualism. Jesus rejects the superficial economic life that obscures the truth that God is Life. The failure of men is that they are content with economic values alone, and do not make contact with religious values. It was in order to overcome this failure that Jesus advised that the materialistic life be rejected." (Spiritual Movement and Social Movement)

Kagawa tried to pursue the theme of release from human suffering into the problem of the interrelationship of economic and religious values. He said, "I want to conquer human suffering with the power of science and religion." "Science and religion are not monopolies of the laboratory, the library, and the temple. They must be closely related to real life." (Human Suffering and Human Construction) From this viewpoint he challenged both Idealism and Materialism. On the one hand, Kagawa knew only too well from life in the slums that a great deal of human suffering is caused by material problems. Relief from this suffering does not lie in other-wordly solutions, namely religious retirement into the woods, escaping from the world. Kagawa says that the problems of human suffering that remain after the adjustment of all the illogicalities found in today's nation, society, factory, and home, should be placed in the sphere of metaphysics or religion. Karl Marx said that all civilized life is based on the producer, and civilization cannot be changed without changing the direction of the social economic purpose. So in order to find release from human suffering, the social and economic conditions of the present society must be investigated and reconstruction must start from the problem of bread for existence. Of first importance is the reconstruction of society.

On the other hand, Kagawa opposes the idea that materialism is the sole cause of human suffering. Kagawa is necessarily opposed to Marx's materialistic view of history which says "Culture and government are based only upon economic organization." "The advent of a socialist world does not mean that heaven will soon come. To have bread guaranteed is not the total purpose of life. Man seeks more than bread. He seeks truth." Kagawa supports Tolstoy who could not condone either the revolutionists or the socialists. He thinks that this is also the spirit of Jesus.

According to Kagawa's view, "There is no such thing as religious value separated from economic value, and material life apart from religious value has absolutely no meaning". These two things intertwine and are mutually dependent. A good example of this is the way in which Christianity is often a positive motive force within the sphere of social problems. For example, in Europe the growth of Christianity gave rise to the idea of the sacredness of labour and so during the Middle Ages communal living became possible within the monasteries, and in Northern Europe many enterprises and industries developed. Kagawa also points out that the Christian movement brought about freedom for the slaves and the destruction of social classes.

The socialists of his time were irritated by the way of Kagawa's understanding of Marxism. But Kagawa could not accept the materialist view of history which places little emphasis on the individual personality. Kagawa's thought was influenced by the idealistic economic view of history and the theory of subjective value which Carl Menger (1846-1921) called "Marginal Utility". With this hint Kagawa tried to organize a system of economics which he called "the theory of subjective economics." He intended to establish a new economic theory "in order to recover the personality of the worker from the materialistic pressures of Capitalism", even though there is a question whether his theory, based on his own religious values, holds true in the field of economics.

Kagawa, using the Christian ethical motive power and its consciousness of fundamental values to unite the values of the two different dimensions, searched for a new form to remake the material sphere. Kagawa tried to develop an economic theory based on the Christian idea of the dignity of the human personality. It cannot be said that he succeeded in creating the science of his new Christian Economics. But Kagawa was right in realizing the importance of the place of individual personality in the sphere of social science.

Kagawa himself wrote how he was influenced by Charles Kingsley (1819-75) and other Christian socialists in England and by Jean Leon Jaures (1859-1914) of France, in his social thinking. Being a Christian himself it was of course natural that he put emphasis on the dignity of man in his social thinking. But it was rather unique in the history of social thought and the Socialist Movement in Japan that Kagawa tackled the question of the theoretical relation between man and social science, religious values and economic values, spiritual liberation and material liberation, spiritual revolution and social revolution. This approach will be also found in his theory of the "Free Labour Union."

Theory of Free Labour Union and Cooperative Movement

Kagawa says in his Theory of Free Labour Unions that the labour union is the original social unit for the New Society, or Free Society. But he says that "labour unions which are organized by the benevolent policy of capitalists, or by coercion of government, or by the coercive violence of revolution" are not to be called Free Labour Unions. A Free Labour Union is a social unit which labourers organize by free will at their working place. There should not be any coercion, because the new society the labouring class are trying to create is a true society which will be produced by free development, not by any coercion. Kagawa is definitely against the deterministic view of history or social revolution by military force. In that sense he did not approve of the Russian Revolution. He believed that man with free will has the potentiality for development, and on the basis of Free Labour Unions organized by the free will of human beings, social reformation will take place gradually. Thus we can move on toward a new society which will take the place of capitalism. This was the first point which was rejected by the socialists of that period who demanded direct action.

Though Kagawa was criticized by his opponents as a compromising supporter of a parliamentary policy which had obscured the nature of the conflict with the ruling class, he was critical of that policy. He said in this book that "I do not expect much from the Diet by universal suffrage".

> "The present Diet, obscuring the difference between the consumers (the ruling class) and the producers (the ruled class), is actually representing the ruling class alone, and cannot either create social legislation for the producers who are suffering unbearable burdens or solve these problems. It is natural that the producers should stand against the Diet which only represents the consumers."

Thus he agreed in many points with those who demanded direct action. Kagawa, who neither supported the Diet composed of consumers but at the same time did not believe in revolution by violence, suggested "a Parliament composed of Industrial Unions" which would count each labour union as a social unit. He believed that a parliamentary system of industrial democracy could thus be gradually brought about.

How did it happen that Kagawa, who started his social work in the slums of Shinkawa, should have become interested in labour union movements? In 1914 he went to the United States and studied at Princeton University. When he was looking for a job in the city of New York after he finished the B.D. degree, he happened to see a demonstration of 60,000 workers marching in the street demanding bread and jobs. They held placards which read "Give us bread" or "Oust Capitalism" and union flags of many colours. It was a demonstration in good order:

> "Kagawa stood on the street watching this impressive demonstration with damp eyes. He was deeply moved. He had been wondering whether he could solve the problems of the poor and the unemployed by social work only. In America he observed several institutes of social work and settlement houses, but he had no conviction that the problems of the slums in Shinkawa could be solved only by systematization of his social work. The proletariat must

organize themselves. It is necessary to free themselves through organization. He thought that he should start his task with labour unions when he returned to Japan."

Secondly Kagawa, upon returning to Japan in November 1917, started a self-governing factory to manufacture toothbrushes. But the management of the factory was extremely difficult. He could not secure skilled workers; some workers stole the materials; some got drunk and were absent for a few days after the day they received their salary. Thus he could not train the workers and carry on the business. At last he sold that factory. This a bitter experience taught him the real psychology of factory workers. This experience convinced him of the necessity of labourers' education and training, and persuaded him that a movement by labourers themselves was the true way to save them.

Thirdly, in 1918 there was a series of rice riots all over Japan. Starting in a small fisherman's town, Uotsu, in Toyama prefecture, its influence quickly spread to Kobe very soon. Labourers in Shinkawa attacked rice merchants, setting fire to seven rice merchants' storehouses. Every rice merchant's house was attacked and rice was stolen. The riots were put down by the military and police forces. Looking at this riot Kagawa acutely felt the necessity of orderly organized action by the proletariat. This rice riot which spread nationally was itself an emotional, unorganized and scattered movement, an explosion of the energy of the hungry masses. It became an important opportunity for progress in both theory and practice for the liberation movement of the proletariat in Japan. Kagawa's experience was one of the examples of its effect.

Along with his effort to organize the labour movement, he worked to organize cooperative societies of consumers. Kagawa was convinced that there was no solution to the problems of the world without replacing the present day banks with credit unions, and the commercial system with consumer's cooperatives. He believed that the consumer's cooperative is a method to create a new social system and that it is an organization of mutual help for cooperation among the labouring class. It was his dream to create a new social structure out of the interdependent co-existence of the labour union movement and the consumers' cooperative movement. Among the workers of the Kawasaki shipyard he organized a purchasing guild (consumers' cooperative), which enrolled many members in Osaka and Kobe. It was with this background that Kagawa could act as one of the leaders when that great historic labour dispute took place in the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi shipyards in Kobe in 1921. He was elected as one of the members of the committee which, as the representative of all the labour unions in Kobe, conducted negotiations with the management demanding the right of collective bargaining, an eight-hour day and a raise in wages.

People often ask "Where did he get financial support for this kind of activities? From missionaries?" In this period his novel Across the Line of Death (Kaizo Book Publishers)was the best selling book in all of Japan. The income from it was quite large. Kagawa used all this money for social movements and relief work. He contributed a large sum of money for this labour dispute and he helped financially the families of workers who were imprisoned because of their clash with the police.

Coming back to his theory of Free Labour Unions, it should be noted that, of course, he believed that labourers should be freed from the position of wage slaves and from being the tool of capitalists' money-making, and that it was the primary objective of the labour movement to demand higher wages and shorter working hours. That was why he took leadership of the dispute in Kobe.

However, Kagawa was not satisfied with the improvement of labour conditions. To him this was not the only mission of the labour union. True society must respect labour based upon humanity. Kagawa's view was expressed in the statement made by the labourers at the time of the dispute in Kobe:

> "Even we labourers are men who possess individual personalities. We are not goods which the capitalists trade according to the market prices of wages. No, we should be given the right to organize unions. Therefore, as productive labourers we declare as follows: We are not simply machines. We demand the right to control our own living conditions in order to develop our individual personalities and to create a society based upon respect for humanity and to gain true culture for the labouring class and the right social system for the security of our life...."

Thus according to Kagawa's theory of Free Labour Unions the goal was to recreate society by means of awakened personalities overflowing from within. Here not only violence but the desire to rule over others was also rejected. He defined three stages of freedom: 1) freedom of faith, namely freedom to know God and to know that the question of God is more important than that of bread; 2) political freedom; and 3) freedom of industry to regain humanity, being freed from Mammonism. In his theory of Free Labour Unions, Kagawa emphasized the importance of the third freedom by which he was convinced that human beings would be freed from the problem of bread and return to themselves, and thus be able to worship God without obstacles and also realize true freedom in the political sphere. In this way the essential question of the recovery of self-alienated human beings was being sought. He at the same time laid stress on management of factory and control of industry by the labourers:

> "There is no pleasant life unless there is freedom. You should not receive the pleasant life before you receive freedom. Don't buy you cloth at the price of your own life....Labourers, don't be caught by pleasant life before you capture freedom!...Ah, workers who produce, let us be independent persons before being tainted by the pleasant life."

Kagawa and the Left-Wing Japanese Socialists

Kagawa's theory of labour unionism was sharply criticized by the Syndicalists, Anarchists and Socialists of that period. Why? As mentioned above the split of the Yuaikai at its eighth gathering was reported as the conflict between "Non-violent Parliamentarianism" versus "Direct Action". However, as has already been pointed out, Kagawa was not simply a compromising supporter of parliamentarism. He was as against the existing parliament monopolized by the ruling clique, as against bloody revolution, while at the same time he could not give up his belief in parliamentarianism as the rule of Democracy. Thus he proposed a "Parliament of Industrial Unions" by placing labourers in the core of the Diet, rather a naive and idealistic idea, but he was sincerely in search for a society based

upon liberated labourers. But during that period most of the leaders of the labour movement, without trying to understand the depth of Kagawa's motive and theory, simply labeled him as one who supported the capitalists' Diet and expelled him from the labour movement. Thus the labour movement in Taisho period lost one of its most genuine leaders.

An example of the Socialists' theoretical criticism of Kagawa's theory is found in Kagawa Toyohiko and Socialism (January 1922 issue of the The Thursday Pamphlet) by Yamakawa Hitoshi, one of the most outstanding theoretical leaders among the left-wing Socialists, who took a leading part in the development of Socialism in modern Japan. Yamakawa criticized Kagawa on three points.

The first point was directed at Kagawa's attitude towards the Russian Revolution. Yamakawa held that the Russian Revolution was the highest and greatest accomplishment in the modern world, and that the difference in attitude towards it would classify men into two camps - one, the proletariat class, eager to know the truth and the other, the bourgeois class, afraid of knowing the truth themselves and of letting the proletariat know the truth. He writes, "Mr. Kagawa attacked Marxian Socialism with anti-revolutionary false propaganda that in Russia women were possessed by the state. He made our people believe that this was the deserved result of Marxian Socialism. Thus he made a great effort to prevent the Japanese proletariat from being interested in and sympathetic with the Russian Revolution. It is obvious that Mr. Kagawa is a man of bourgeois psychology". In this way Yamakawa put stress on the point of Kagawa's anti-revolutionary propaganda.

The second criticism was of Kagawa's concept of democracy, referring to his "Painful Position of Radicalists". Kagawa wrote in this essay that "the Creed of the Bolsheviks contradicts people's culture in two points: One is negation of democracy and the other is restriction of Freedom. The radicals regard democracy as their enemy". Yamakawa refuted Kagawa: "Only the national system of Soviet Russia can completely destroy the great obstacles preventing the realization of democracy. Extinction of (Monopoly of capital) is the aim of all socialists. Unless we reach this goal, true democracy, namely freedom and equality will not be realized. And this purpose will be attained only by Soviet, namely proletarian democracy." According to Kagawa democracy requires 1) universal suffrage, and 2) respect of minority opinions. Thus, radicals who are against these points and believe in dictatorship are enemies of democracy. Yamakawa says that Kagawa shares the mistakes of K.J. Kautsky whom Lenin called "Backslider". The democracy of which Kagawa speaks is the democracy of the bourgeois but not that of the proletariat.

Needless to say the argument we see here on two kinds of democracy has reappeared in postwar Japan in almost the same form. The third point of criticism was on "restriction of freedom". Yamakawa refuted Kagawa by saying that "there is freedom of desire in the capitalist society, namely freedom of drinking, of prostitution, refined taste, etc., but we simply miss freedom of desire to live, which might be the lowest desire for Mr. Kagawa. Being dipped in the spirit of capitalism, Mr. Kagawa, claiming freedom of desire would take even a small amount of milk away from the mouth of the dying sick or of infants."

When I read Kagawa's writings of that period, I am struck by his prejudice, misunderstanding and lack of sympathy on the fundamental issues of the Russian Revolution and rapidly changing social organization following revolution. Moreover his understanding of Marxism as social science followed a conventional stereotype. On the other hand, when we focus on the method of argument, Yamakawa's criticism was not based on an argument which really point out the weakness of the opponent. With a deterministic presupposition of value judgment that Kagawa's idea was the enemy ideology, Yamakawa fought against the shadow of the stereotype of what he thought was his opponent's ideology. Thus the argument is extremely unproductive.

Osugi Sakae, an Arnarchist-Syndicalist leader who embraced individualism at the depth of his thought and one of the opponents of Kagawa was more appreciati in his Essay on Kagawa (included in Heart Seeking For Justice, 1921) in 1919. He did not agree with Kagawa's idealistic social theory for a new national structure based upon a producers' parliament, but with an appreciative attitude he writes:

> "Even though we criticize this or that, I am very happy that Kagawa has jointed the Japanese labour movement, especially the Yuaikai, the strongest and largest labour organization. The Yuaikai, in the past, had no proper theory and was simply demanding improvement of labour conditions. With the help of his theory of control of industry by the labourers I am sure our movement will be encouraged to become more self conscious of the true spirit of the labour movement. The Japanese are not acquainted with the idea of independence and self-government. Labourers especially are apt to fall into an attitude of authoritarianism and centralization. From the extremely autocratic Empire of Russia, an extremely autocratic republic has been created. I do hope and am sure that by Kagawa's religious zeal, autocracy of the president of the Yuaikai in the past, autocracry of leading members of the Yuaikai of the present, and their tyrannical attitude towards other labour organizations in both past and present, will be avoided, and I believe this will bring about progress and happiness for the entire labour movement in Japan".

Epilogue

> "Friends, do not abase yourself. Throw away your inferiority complex. Recognize your important and honored role as labourers. The work of the producers is creation. Do not be impatient....Be calm and steady. Let the imperialists and the capitalists do what they want. Do not care what the radicalists and extremists say. The way you should take is only one. That is production based upon love...Understand your work well and hammer correctly. Look at the results. Of course the labour union is necessary. But remember that labour problems can be solved only by the labourer's positive self-awakening."

Here we find his simple but essential and consistent opinion and attitude for the labourer's liberation. In his recognition of the importance of "freedom of industry" which was inseparable from "freedom of spirit", sometimes he vigorously directed a way of human liberation even through dispute in the material sphere. But on the other hand, when he interpreted Gandhi's idea of

"non-violent resistance" as that of "non-resistance", and proposed to introduce this idea into the labour movement, the Syndicalists and other labour unionists became sceptical towards him and accepted the criticism that he was a friend of the capitalists in spite of appearances. Moreover such propaganda caused even simple labourers and farmers to be sceptical about him. Kagawa writes: "Now, everybody is abusing me. All the magazines and journals write against me. Red socialists, capitalists, journalists, Buddhists who do not know me, and headstrong Christians are attacking me. Even the people in the slums physically attacked me yesterday and I was wounded."

The government officials who imprisoned him because he took leadership in the labour movement now wanted to protect him and use him because he was being abused by the radical unionists as an agent of the government. The government sent a notice to the principals of public schools that they should invite Kagawa to give an address to their students. This kind of move on the side of the government gave another reason to the people to misunderstand Kagawa as their enemy. Thus he has disappeared from the scene of the labour movement in Japan.

In a word, his concept of man, especially during this period, was more optimistic and humanistic than that of orthodox Christianity. However, he was genuinely raising the question of the liberation of man and social justice on the meeting point of religious and economic values, attempting to place human beings in the framework of social science or of economic theory, and to create a new social system upon the so-called "Free Labour Union". All these questions are confronting our generation now as some of the most important and urgent problems in Asia today.

II

NOTES FROM A PUBLIC MEETING SPONSORED BY THE
UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA
HELD AT THE ANGLICAN PARISH HALL, KITWE, 17 MAY, 1961

By

Our Correspondent

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the National President of the U.N.I.P., addressed the meeting. In brief he said:

The U.N.I.P's approach to the problem of Northern Rhodesia is primarily a humanitarian approach. We do not live in the past and we firmly believe that an African government needs to be established. At the same time we assure the non-Africans of their rightful place in this country by way of adopting a Bill of Rights. We favour no racist policy, and no oppression of one race by another will be tolerated. We believe there is enough room in Northern Rhodesia for all people who wish to make this their home. There is room both for private industries and partly controlled industries.

The only thing we shall ask of private industry is to feed the profits back into Northern Rhodesia to help develop more industry. We believe that not only more mines should be opened but also agriculture and various types of secondary industries can be developed. There is no reason why Northern Rhodesia has to keep importing bananas, eggs, and a number of other agricultural products from other countries. Furthermore, if we are going to build a healthy nation, it is important to elevate the living standard of rural Africans.

At the moment, agricultural products cannot easily be transported to population centres due to the inadequate transport and communication system. I believe the transport and communication systems should be in the hands of the government and should not be controlled by private owners.

Northern Rhodesia has no seaport in its own territory. The deterioration in the situations of Portuguese Angola and the Union of South Africa after the 31st May 1961 will make it very difficult for Northern Rhodesia to find a seaport which she needs in either one of these countries. The only possibility is to link up with Tanganyika and use her ports for our export and import with Europe and Asia. This means construction work of some magnitude along the line of a transport system within and beyond our own territory. The tremendous potentiality in Barotseland for producing poultry and fruit must not be overlooked, but Barotseland and the main parts of Northern Rhodesia have so far not been well connected with each other. All these potentialities, if properly tapped, will provide more than enough economic opportunities for all of us in Northern Rhodesia and there is no need to perpetuate that ill-fated Federation any longer.

The Federation has since its inception been a device to keep the African people under control of the white people and for this reason we must repudiate it. The colour of skin is one thing over which none of us has any control. To discriminate against one because of the colour of his skin is to turn against the Creator. Each must accept his colour as given to him and should cooperate with all others in the common task of building a wholesome nation.

After this brief address by Mr. Kaunda the audience was invited to ask questions. Many questions were asked from the floor to which Mr. Kaunda gave his answers promptly and lucidly.

Question:

1) How do you propose to transform the tribal subsistance economy into modern money economy?
2) Where will money come from to build communication and transport system?
3) How can you and other U.N.I.P. leaders control hooligans?

Answer:

The first two questions I would answer simply by saying that the U.N.I.P. has an economic planning committee that is looking into these matters thoroughly. At this point it may suffice to say that we realize that self-government does not mean "milk and honey" without toil. On the contrary we are fully aware that it will mean hard work on the part of everybody. If, however, the mining companies would agree to plough back their profits there will be sufficient capital with which to undertake the building of the necessary infrastructures. I have been informed that financial companies in several European countries are very much interested in investing in Northern Rhodesia. The important thing is that we establish political stability in the country.

In reference to the third question, I cannot predict the future but for the moment, compared with many other countries like Algeria, Congo, Angola or even the Union of South Africa, Northern Rhodesia is rather peaceful. Give us credit at least for having kept our people under control in the face of Sir Roy's provocation at the point of a gun. In all humility I would ask you to review the record of our activities in the past nine months. I am aware that I am not leading an organization of angels, but I want you to know that not all the cases that have been prosecuted involved members of U.N.I.P. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that a large area of Northern Rhodesia is still "out of bounds" for U.N.I.P. In spite of such injustice and humiliation the whole country has been and still is quiet and under our control.

Question: Are you planning to nationalize the copper mines?

Answers: No, definitely not. The only condition is that the profits shall be ploughed back into the country for further industrial development.

Question: What is the U.N.I.P's position with regard to the Christian missions?

Answer: No human activities can go on without God's blessing. We welcome missionaries. I am a product of missionary work. We believe in non-violence as a way of life and we shall never interfere with freedom of worship on anybody's part.

Question: 1) References are frequently made to the political oppression in Northern Rhodesia. Is there any truth in it?

Question: 2) How could you suppress insurrection should there be one?

Answer: I shall answer the last question first. There will be no possibility for insurrection at all. According to the proposal before us (White Paper) a transitional period will be provided during which the Governor General will be in charge of national defence. When this period is over we expect to take over the government of this country and we will have full control of it. At the moment only 20% of U.N.I.P. members can be classified as educated and this is precisely the reason why we feel we must take over the government so as to raise the educational standards of the indigenous people. In reference to the first question, I would only point out that there are African doctors, laywers and engineers who have been prevented from pursuing their professions simply because they are Africans. I want you to come to see where I live. I am sure you would be ashamed to put your worst enemy in the house I'm living in. Why do you suppose we have to have separate churches for Africans and Europeans? There is no question that we have been oppressed. We are however willing to forget the past and make a new start.

Question: What would you do if you failed to convince the mining companies to plough back their profits to Northern Rhodesia?

Answer: We firmly believe that the mining companies will be reasonable enough to be persuaded, once political stability is established, to do what we ask them to do. We have no other means than that of peaceful persuasion through consultation around the table.

Question: What is the policy on schools for African and European children?

Answer: This is one area in which a great deal of preparatory work seems to be needed. Our present policy is to have separate schools up to Form One, mainly because of language differences. From Form One up we would like to have racially mixed schools opened for those who are interested in it, either through missions or some other agencies.

Question: What do you think of the political link with Southern Rhodesia?

Answer: We believe in doing first things first. Let us dismantle the Federation which was started wrongly and has worked wrongly. The first Prime Minister of the Federation told me clearly that the partnership of the Federation was that of horse and rider. There is no question whatsoever who was the rider and who was the horse in this case. We insist that the Federation be buried for good. When a true democracy is finally established, then people can decide whether they would like to link up with Southern Rhodesia or any other neighbouring countries.

Question: You insist on one man one vote. What qualification for suffrage would you impose?

Answer: Our position is universal adult suffrage without any artificial qualification. The only qualification is the age limit of 21 years of age, except for the criminal and mentally deranged. All adults who are 21 years and over should be qualified to vote.

Question: But 97% of Africans in Northern Rhodesia do not know when they reach their 21st birthday. How can they be qualified to vote?

Answer: They may not know when they have reached 21 years of age but they know painfully well that they have been paying taxes for several years.

Question: The present government (both Federal Government and the Protectorate Government) has been having a great deal of difficulty in bringing overseas capital into the territory. Most certainly when an African government takes over, the capital will flow out of the country. How would you propose to invite overseas capital to come in?

Answer: On the contrary, recent history shows that in the majority of cases more capital flowed in when an African government was established. The crucial thing is the establishment of political stablility.

Question: The capital may flow in but will it be from the East or the West?

Answer: Let me say unequivocally that we are not interested in the power struggle between Washington and Moscow. We shall do everything in our power to prevent the cold war from coming into Northern Rhodesia, for nothing would be more tragic. I believe that we still have what both East and West appear to have lost, namely, faith in humanity. We still make man the centre of all human activities and never a means. All the help that we shall receive from abroad, whether from East or West, will have to be without any strings attached. As a matter of course, we shall first approach London and then the UN. We hope we do not need to go any further. We have enough problems here without inviting the cold war into our midst.

Question: Universal suffrage will put the destiny of this highly industrialized country into the hands of the primitive people. What safeguard can you suggest in this respect?

Answer: One must be careful when one uses such a term as "primitive" lest it should boomerang. Do you suppose those who deliberately bombed London, Berlin and many other cities in the West and those who dropped the first atom bomb on Hiroshima were really civilized? You must face the fact that those who have governed Northern Rhodesia for the last 75 years (thank God I have not been governing this country), have produced only a handful of African doctors and laywers. It is they who are responsible for the high rate of illiteracy among my people today. Do you expect me to accept and support the system which makes people drunk in order to provide money for social welfare work for them.*

The Macleod plan has reduced the number of British overseas civil servants. Consequently we are suffering from a shortage of civil servants in this country. We will have to depend for a long time to come on expatriate civil servants; that is to say, locally trained civil servants will take over the responsibilies only after some years of working together with expatriates. As for technically trained people in industry and other professional fields, we are definitely

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* In Northern Rhodesia every African township has a beerhall established by the government. The proceeds from the sale of beer is ear-marked for social welfare work.

inviting qualified people from overseas to work with us. I am confident that my people will make good use of the opportunity given to them. You may call him primitive and illiterate but he knows his needs, he knows that he has to eat and feed his family. He knows that he needs a good and stable government if he is to make his living and support his family in peace. He can be extremely imaginative, and politically astute. See how he used to choose his tribal chiefs. I have seen an illiterate African asking a literate brother to read the political sections of the daily paper of which, I am told, many of the European readers are mainly interested in the sport sections. I assure you that the majority of Africans are sufficiently knowledgable on social and political issues confronting them to choose the right government.

In closing Mr. Kaunda said, "One chapter of our history is closing. Let us do away with racial prejudice and let us work together for a new chapter. The responsibility for Northern Rhodesia is not on the Africans' shoulders alone but on the shoulders of each and everyone of us."

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In late June the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. MacLeod, and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone, announced a proposed constitution for N. Rhodesia, which was immediately and flatly rejected by the UNIP. (Soon after, the N. Rhodesian Liberal Party, led by Sir John Moffat, and the African Democratic Party, led by Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, also joined in rejecting it. It was in this particular situation that the UNIP had its annual conference at Mulungushi. Mr. Kaunda's address is presented here not for any partisan interest but as one of the most articulate expressions of African nationalism arising out of an existential situation.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY MR. KAUNDA TO THE TERRITORIAL ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY, JULY 9, 1961

(Abridged by the Editors)

We meet today to decide the future of our country. I would have been happier had we here our natural rulers - the chiefs - to guide us as they did at the Lancaster House Conference. But I am conscious of the danger to which we would expose them if we invited them to come here. I am glad to tell you that we have overwhelming support from them although intimidation from those above them will often make some of them not say so openly. There are, however, a few areas where we are not allowed to operate freely and I am still looking into this matter.

Only about 10 months ago we called up the biggest political conference ever held in this our motherland of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) attended by over a thousand delegates and official observers. Today it is our pride to succeed in calling a conference with more than double the September figure of delegates and observers. It is no small achievement for this party when you consider physical

difficulties that confront us. We called this conference at a comparatively short notice of a month and a half. Our country is over 290 thousand sq. miles. We are poverty-stricken in the midst of plenty. Bus and other fares are fantastically high. Yet we have here over three thousand delegates and official observers. Such is the feeling in you that you left everything else and came over here. I say congratulations countrymen! This is the right spirit.

Now, after a protracted struggle which began with the old days when you all formed the Zambia African National Congress which was banned and succeeded by the United National Independence Party, we saw what we considered to be a ray of hope on our political horizon when the Macmillan WIND OF CHANGE statement brought Colonial Secretary MacLeod here. He assured us he was not in any way ignoring Northern Rhodesia by starting with Nyasaland constitutional affairs.

But our would-be protectors have succumbed to pressure from Welensky in Salisbury and to Lord Salisbury and Tory back benchers in order to maintain their ugly federation. The British Government have betrayed us, they have sold us down the cold river of White supremacy in the same way as their predecessors had done in the Union of South Africa about 50 years ago. They are treating us like pieces of dirt. Shall we any longer trust them? At least my trust in them is finished! In my own mind's eye I can still see Mr. MacLeod's face. It is a trustworthy face insofar as I am able to discern faces and read other people's minds. Many fellow-colonial leaders have told me the same about him. What then has gone wrong with him over Northern Rhodesia? He has made no efforts to meet our demands for a clear African Majority. Instead he gives us something unparalled in colonial history. The British Prime Minister invited us and lectured to us about "noble principles", "good-will between races" and the importance of "give and take" spirit. So all he meant was we should be principled and not Welensky; good-will between men of all races should come from us only and not Welensky; and that in this spirit of give and take we should do all the giving while Welensky does all the taking. I am afraid I am the most shocked and most disappointed man in all this mess. We are being sacrificed at the altar of foreign politics. Does this way of behaving call for any more trust? Mine is shaken to the foundation.

> Here follows a minute analysis of the June White Paper which, within the February White Paper, makes it technically impossible for an African majority to be realized in the House of Representatives. More especially Mr. Kaunda denounces the proposal which assigns two of the 15 "middle" or "national" seats (15 upper seats to be occupied practically by Europeans and 15 lower seats by Africans) to an Asian and a Euro-African. He says that the majority of Asians and Euro-Africans reject such an apartheid arrangement. (Ed.)

The Plan rejects completely the universally accepted principle of establishing governments with the consent of the governed - the only method I can think of at present that would bring about such a government is one based on Universal adult suffrage. We stand by this.

The big question is now where do we go to from now? This is the big question you have come here to answer.

Brutus says in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar:

> "You must note beside, that we here tried the utmost of our friends: Our legions are brimfull, our cause is ripe, the enemy increaseth every day, we at the height, are ready to decline. There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune: Omitted, all the voyage of their life, is bound in shallows, and in miseries. On such a full sea are we now afloat, and we must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures."

I know full military and police preparations are going on in the Union of South Africa, in this rotten Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in Angola and Mozambique. I know too that military pacts are being made between these three foreign powers to try and entrench their governments on the soil that is not theirs. They can create histories of any type and claim we met here as we came from the North and they came in from the South. They can claim to have lived here since 1400. The fact still remains this is African soil. It is here we were destined to be born; it is here we must rule dead or alive. It is here we must be buried when God sends for our humble souls! Countrymen, this is a fitting moment for me to say like Shakespeare - "Our legions are brim full, our cause is ripe."

"The enemy increaseth every day," but unlike Brutus

We at the height; are ready not to decline but to march forward equipped with the only weapon I know will do here - the positive and creative force of NON-VIOLENCE. Here Countrymen if we stand up now and take the tide at the flood point - it will lead us to victory. If we should miss it, all the voyage of our life, indeed, will be bound in shallows and miseries.

I know Colonial Secretary MacLeod is adept at bridge. But we are not breathless pieces of paper on a bridge table. We are human beings who if they will not play bridge at least will know what is right or wrong for themselves whether it be political, economical, social or cultural. We have our own lives to live, our claims and demands to make and indeed our own hour to defend! We have taken to imposed constitutions plus the Federal one, sitting! In the name of God, the Almighty, we will take no more impositions! If Welensky will take a stand and succeed we are capable of doing that because UFP is just a drop in the ocean. If the only language that the British Government will understand is one of organized strength then obviously we will speak the same language as he does, although ours are not methods of taking human life at all as his are.

To me, countrymen, it was a sad day when Governor Hone and Mr. MacLeod found it suitable to announce a new constitution to us and at the same time tell us....if you don't accept this, we have security forces ready to deal with you. If this is not typical colonial government intimidation - what is? Alright we say No to their constitution, so what? Security forces or no security forces we are tired of this nonsense of imposing constitutions on us. We are here now toiling under the jack boots of the most subtle forms of imperialism now locally based and vested in the hands of the Welensky group not, and I repeat NOT, because he is white and we are black, but simply because he is better organized. This is why we are underlings and not because God is against us. ORGANIZATION is the key word to our problems.

I would like to conclude by saying a few more things. The first is, my Central Committee has rejected the MacLeod constitution for N. Rhodesia. The National Council has also rejected it. The whole wide world awaits to hear what you decide tomorrow on this matter. I don't want you to be biased by what we have already said. Remember you are the final authority of this powerful organization. If you accept it, all right we shall have to follow your instructions and do what we can to make it work. If on the other hand, you follow our lead this will mean, as we have told the world already, taking some positive action but of a non-violen nature.

I know these are trying times when we are likely to miss our way and be tempt to think, speak and act in an anti-white way. The mistake made by Welensky and th British Government is realised and disapproved of not only by you but also by a good number of Europeans and Asians. The representatives of those Europeans and Asians are here today with us. I agree with Andrew Marvel when he says there are decent and indecent men everywhere. The battle still remains the same.. It is not anti-white but anti-wrong. We have many friends among men of all races. We shall not fight against white racists led by Welensky and at the same time be racists ourselves. Let not the difficulties make us lose our direction.

To our European friends and comrades in the struggle, I say yours is not an easy task either. You will meet with more difficulties than many of your people. You will be ostracised in your own community and you will be doubted by the very people you like to associate yourselves with. But knowing as you do that the cour you have chosen is the right one you will stick to your guns and continue to show other people misled by wrong principles that peace here can only come when the principle of African majority rule is established. I don't envy your position at all but you have my blessings.

To our Asian friends and comrades in the struggle, I say you yourselves know what this is that we are doing. You faced it in your countries of origin. You know we are doing the right thing. Most of you are also men of principles. You have come out to openly support us. I say we are with you when you call this constitution "most shocking and diabolical". Don't allow yourselves to be used by anyone at all.

To our Euro-African friends, we say we welcome you as members of our society. For sometime you were misled by the powers that be. You discovered their trick of divide and rule. You came back to where you truly belonged and belong. They are now beginning to make attempts to separate you once again; to tempt you into falling easy prey to their ungodly activities. You know the truth. You will no doubt stick to that.

To all of you, I say our country at this hour needs brave ones - stand up and be brave. Believe in God and believe in yourselves. You were born to do great things and now is the hour to do them.

III

Relations between the Overseas Chinese and the indigenous population in South-East Asia.

by

Rev. G. A. Hood

(This statement is made up of the personal impressions of one individual concerning the particular problems and areas of tension which affect the Overseas Chinese in South-East Asia in their relations with the indigenous peoples of the region. It is based on missionary service in South China from 1945 to 1950 followed by ten years' service in Malaya, working in a 90% Chinese speaking Church. During the latter period I have paid brief visits to the Philippines and Thailand and had a fair number of contacts with Indonesian Chinese. As a statement of personal impressions it may well be onesided, and too much weighted in favour of the Chinese. The grievances and resentments reported may be regarded as falsely grounded in the light of the official policies of the various governments concerned. Moreover the variety of conditions and the varying numerical strength of the Chinese in the several countries lays all unqualified statements such as I shall sometimes make, open to criticism. Fully aware of these limitations I shall only try to state those areas of life in which I have been made aware of the greatest problems and tension.)

The total number of Overseas Chinese is estimated at about twenty million and of these the great majority are in South-East Asia. Within the countries of that region they may number only one per cent of the population, as in the Philippines, or as much as over 80 per cent, as in Singapore. Within the Federation of Malaya they make up forty per cent of t the population and, combined with the Indians, another immigrant people, half of the population. This means that the pattern of their relationships may be that of a tiny minority or of a very strong and numerous element in the nation. Within this region they are living in countries which have all, except Thailand, been under colonial rule, and in many cases have recently achieved their independence.

Language and Education.

Language is the very basis of relationships, good or bad. Because of language difficulties there are problems first of all within the Chinese community itself, secondly, between it and the indigenous people, and thirdly

in the relation of both Chinese and indigenous population to the language of the, till recent years, colonising power, i.e. English, Dutch, French, Spanish etc. Let us first look at this threefold language problem :

1. Because most of the Chinese in South-East Asia came from the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, that part of China in which the dialects are most prolific, the Chinese community within each country is divided within itself by differences of language and temperament. Apart from the Philippines where Amoy-speaking Chinese are far and away the largest section of the community, and in Thailand where the same is true of the Tie-chiu speaking, the remaining areas are populated by Chinese speaking a variety of dialects of which the predominance of one will only be at a local level, e.g. Cantonese in Kuala Lumpur. Although the younger generation of Chinese will usually be at home in the Chinese national language, the older will still prefer to use their own original dialects.

   The result of this is that in a town where many dialects are spoken, one of them will predominate, that of the majority, and the minority groups hold back from associations and other contacts in which they will be at a disadvantage linguistically. At times it also creates tension and misunderstandings between the young and the old, the one accustomed to express itself in the Chinese national language and the other in a dialect. Time will eventually solve this problem as more and more become educated in the Chinese national language but so many prophecies of an early disappearance of the dialects have been proved premature that it is wise to recognise that this tension will be with us for many years to come.

2. The number of Chinese who have learned the language of the indigenous people of the country varies of course from one to another. It is enough to say that there are great numbers in each country who cannot speak it. Among those who can a majority are probably only capable of the most simple conversation. Among those who can not are some who refuse to learn it and adopt towards it an attitude of superiority and contempt.

   Many have learned it for the same reason that most people learn a language other than their own, the material advantages it brings, as for example the Chinese shopkeeper in a predominantly Malay, Indonesian or Filipino village, or the aspirant for Government service, but there are many unwilling to do so. These are the languages which are being earnestly promoted by the governments concerned in the interests of nation-building, and to be willing to learn them is sometimes regarded as the test of loyalty to the country.

   The occasions for misunderstanding, prejudice and resentment are innumerable. For example, the Chinese rubber tapper who comes to the Government Hospital in which the medical staff may be largely Malay or

Indian, may well find himself incapable of describing his symptoms. Chinese women whose work has kept them more at home with fewer opportunities of picking up Malay find it even more difficult.

Consequently any contact with government departments is liable to be a source of irritation and frustration on both sides. On the one hand the Chinese have the feeling that they are being discriminated against, on the other hand there is the suspicion that those who will not learn the language of the country are of dubious loyalty and that their hearts are engaged elsewhere.

3. The third area of tension related to language concerns the Chinese who are Chinese-educated and those whose education has been through the language medium of the former colonial power. English, Dutch etc. To be educated in a school in which the medium of instruction is English almost inevitably involves the rejection of certain traditional Chinese ways of thought and customs and the acceptance of some Western. Because English (or the other Western language) was the language of government, of the professions and of many other white-collared occupations, the learning and everyday use of it meant a certain amount of identification with the interests of the colonial power rather than with those of their country of origin or of residence.

But today the decline of Western control and influence, the achievement of independence by the new nations and the emergence of China as a world power have created a situation in which the English educated no longer enjoy their previous assured and privileged position. As those with most training and experience in administration they can and have played a valuable part in the early days of nation building, but the onus is always on them to dissociate themselves from their former colonial connections, and to give positive proof of their loyalty to the new nation.

The English (Dutch etc.) educated Chinese have usually been more willing than their Chinese educated compatriots to learn the language of the indigenous peoples, and the fact that they attended schools along with other races for all of whom English was not their native tongue, has usually made them less communally minded and with more social contacts with those of other races. But paradoxically the medium of communication and relationship between the races is the language of that former colonial power from whose influence and control they are seeking to dissociate themselves. Until such time as the language of the indigenous people is learned and used, the use of English or other Western languages may be regarded by some as the only answer to communalism and by others as the last vestige of colonialism.

To those Chinese whose education has been largely through the medium of Chinese the English educated are often objects of contempt not unmixed with envy. They are regarded as the followers of "yellow culture", the betrayers of the traditional Chinese virtues. The English-educated, in the dilemma already described and feeling rather self-conscious about the language in which they are most at home, regard the Chinese-educated with some apprehension. They see in them not so much the advocates of the traditional Chinese virtues, which they may or may not admit to having abandoned, but rather the protagonists of the new expansionist China, the now very wide awake dragon.

Economic Life.

The second big area of tension is in the economic field. Without going into the highly complicated history of the part played by the Chinese in the economic development of South-East Asia, usually with the encouragement and under the control of the colonial powers, the basic problems result from the impact of a highly competent, hard-working, energetic and thrifty people on countries in which for reasons of climate, history and culture life has been taken more easily and slowly. It should also be recognised that among the Chinese it has usually been the pushers, the go-getters, the pioneering type who have left their homes in South-East China, often under economic pressure to find a new life in the countries of this area.

In other words, the Chinese in these countries are not a cross-section of the Chinese race but those who are particularly concerned to make money and measure success in life by its acquisition. The Chinese ability to make money, to make the wilderness blossom as the rose, to toil from morning till night, day after day, week after week, to become richer while it seems the indigenous people around are becoming poorer, all this inevitably creates resentment among those who feel that they are being exploited and their wealth drained off, either for the enjoyment or increase in power of the Chinese in their country or to be sent out of the country to the Chinese homeland.

In this question of tension in the economic field there is one impression I have gathered which may or may not be confirmed by the experience of others. If it is correct I think it is important. My impression is that the tension is greatest in those countries and in those areas where the Chinese are a small minority, and in which, for various reasons they have been restricted to certain professions and occupations. But where they have been in larger numbers and allowed to engage in all the same occupations as the local people there has been less tension. The reason for this is that they are thereby exposed to similar economic pressures as the local people and think of themselves more in terms of class than of race. It has been argued, along these lines, that communalism is not the danger in Malaya it is commonly made out

to be, and that the tide of social and industrial revolution will ultimately sweep it away. Whether or not this is so, it is worth noting that in Malaya at least it is the most left-wing political parties which are the least communally minded.

When the Chinese are a very small minority, as they are in the Philippines, almost entirely confined to the professional and shopkeeper classes, their wealth is more concentrated. Because it is more concentrated it is more easily available, and therefore presents a greater temptation to the have-nots. Justly or unjustly the Chinese have been called the Jews of the East. In those places where they are a very small minority and where they are limited to certain occupations a parallel may properly be drawn with the Jews of the Middle Ages. At that time the Jews in most countries of Europe were restricted by law to certain occupations, unable to own and develop land, forced to hoard their wealth in a form which could be easily moved in time of danger or persecution, and for such reasons compelled to become the financiers of kings, the usurers, to undertake those occupations from which Christians were debarred. Like the Jews the Chinese also know what it is to be an object of hatred at the same time as their services are being sought. Like the Jews their native talents combined with the needs of the times have put them in that position.

To sum up. On the part of the indigenous people is the resentment at the ability of the Chinese to make money and to increase his economic power in the country. With this resentment goes the suspicion that such power is used to corrupt the politicians and thereby exercise the political power which is legally denied them. The fact that so much money is sent out of the country for the support of relatives in China, the fact that Chinese book-keeping makes it so difficult to discover the real profits being made and the resultant suspicion that taxes are being evaded, the fact that the Chinese, in the small businesses which are the most typical form of their economic activity, nearly always tend to employ first, their own immediate family, thereafter the widening circle of kin, clan, village, dialect, race and very rarely reach beyond that, the fact that so many are in debt to Chinese or have already lost land previously mortgaged - these are some of the facts or suspicions, true or false which create and maintain resentment.

And on the Chinese side ? The fact that the amount they pay in taxes is out of proportion to their representation in the government, the fact that in some countries severe restrictions are placed on the opening of new businesses, that they are compelled to close down their businesses in some areas by government decree, that they are not allowed to pass on a business from father to son, the fact that only nationals may enjoy certain advantages in the economic sphere and that those Chinese who wish to become nationals and are qualified to do so have every kind of obstacle put in their way, the fact that whenever money is required whether for government on charitable purposes they are the first to be approached while at the same time are criticised for having the money. These are some of the resentments on the Chinese side. It says

much for the restraint on both sides that the tension rarely breaks out into race riots, but the danger remains.

In these following words Victor Purcell ("The Chinese in South-East Asia ", page 641) epitomises the economic relationship of the Chinese to the Filipino, and the same might be general of the whole region :

> 'In the villages, the peasant who regards the Chinese traders as his oppressors and the authors of his misfortunes is yet, consciously or sub-consciously, aware that they provide a distribution service which he himself could not reproduce either in this generation or the next, and, while he resents the Chinese proprietor of the tienda, he would think himself very lucky to obtain him as the husband of his prettiest daughter, for with him as pariente the whole family would never be in want.'

Citizenship, Immigration, and Social Relationships.

Because the indigenous peoples fear that the economic power held by the Chinese enables them to exercise more political power than the constitution of their countries allows, there is a strong determination to maintain their political power as the only counter-weight available, hence the ratio of 4 Malays to one non-Malay in the Malayan administration. On the Chinese side there is a feeling of resentment that those who contribute so large a proportion to the wealth of the country and pay so great a part of the taxes should have so little say in its administration,and receive so little of its services. The thorny question of Chinese education may illustrate the point. In most places where they have settled the Chinese have accepted responsibility for founding and endowing schools to give Chinese education to their children. At the same time they have been required to pay the taxes from which the other schools have been maintained. This economic resentment exists. In the case of education it is made all the more bitter by the suspicion, assiduously propagated by some extremists, that the attempts of governments to achieve some form of national education are aimed at "the destruction of Chinese culture." This issue of Chinese education is probably the one on which it is possible to raise most racial feeling - in some countries of South-East Asia - in the shortest possible time.

The fear of Chinese domination is reflected in the immigration policies of each country. Naturally these vary from one to the other but in each case they are yearly growing more strict. Although their provisions are not always

specifically aimed against the Chinese the fact is that it is the Chinese who are most affected. In Malaya alone there are many thousands living on visit passes, renewable each year so long as the holder has right of re-entry into another country. But however many years these passes are renewed, their holders do not meet the residential qualification for citizenship, and the outlook for those who have no desire to return to either mainland China or Formosa is one of continued uncertainty. This unsettled existence is demoralising for those most intimately concerned and it also maintains within each country numbers of people who are virtually discouraged from feeling loyalty to the country of their "temporary residence."

For those who have become nationals, and who are wholehearted in their desire to co-operate with the government's professed policy of assimilation there is still the complaint that they are discriminated against. I have heard Indonesian Chinese, who have been in Indonesia for seven generations, possessing Indonesian names as well as Indonesian citizenship, incapable of speaking Chinese, complain that there is still discrimination against them. This is particularly so in the matter of government appointments. For example, so long as they carry on a correspondence with a government department they may make satisfactory progress but as soon as they go for an interview and their Chinese origin is evident, there is discrimination.

The discrimination referred to is normally in the political and economic spheres, rarely in the social. So far as I know there is no colour bar, in the popular usage of the term, operating against the Chinese, rather I would suspect, the reverse. It is possible that there is more purely race prejudice on the part of the Chinese than among any of the indigenous peoples. Most Chinese are proud of the fact that they are fairer in skin than the people around them. They are conscious of belonging to a race with a continuous civilization of 5000 years, and sometimes can be fairly accused of superiority and condescension in the terms they apply to and their attitude towards the indigenous peoples. And whereas in the past the political disorders and weakness of China was the skeleton in the cupboard which put a curb on a too overbearing national pride, that skeleton has now been replaced by a very different and powerful occupant.

In the matter of inter-marriage with the indigenous people my impression is that the greater prejudice is probably on the side of the Chinese. Putting aside the many times and places, in the past, in which inter-marriage was common because of the numerical inequality of the sexes, among the immigrant Chinese most marriages of Chinese with those of other races are, I suspect, among those who have been educated together, and educated in the language medium of the former colonial power. As I have already suggested in the section on language such Chinese have already, in the eyes of some of their fellow-Chinese, become "Westernised" and this is only regarded as one aspect of that departure from Chinese custom.

The Church, the Chinese and racial relationships.

Christian Chinese - or should they be called Chinese Christians ? - are found in the three kinds of Churches which correspond to the threefold language grouping already described. They are found, and found most strongly in Chinese speaking Churches, Churches which have an appeal based on many "non-religious factors" such as common dialect and background in China, clan loyalties and other features which make them sometimes appear to be Christian Associations (hoe-guan). They are found in Churches in which the language of worship is the language of the former colonial power, and they are found, most rarely in Churches in which the language of worship is the language of the indigenous people.

The Churches in fact follow the language pattern and themselves represent the tensions already referred to. In some cases the relationship between the Chinese speaking Churches and the English speaking reflect all too clearly the same suspicions as exist among the non-Christian Chinese, Chinese educated and English educated. There is tension here. Within the English-speaking Churches there are, of course those of other races, the indigenous people and other immigrant races, notably Indian Christians and therefore it is the area of the greatest inter-racial relationships. But just because the medium of communication is English the real issue is not being faced, for those who belong to an English speaking Church are already conditioned by their background, by decisions on education previously made by ways of thought already accepted, to belong to an inter-racial community. Of course there may be tensions within such a community, differences of temperament and outlook, but the real issue cannot be met here.

The greater test lies in the relationships between the Chinese speaking Churches and the other Churches of the land. Until the Churches are able to meet that problem it is difficult to see what they have to say, or what they can do about the larger problem of race relationships of which it is an example.

And what is the present position in the relationships between these Chinese speaking Churches and the other Churches of the various countries ? In most cases these Churches derived their origin and their strength from China rather than from Western missionary activity. They have looked in the past towards China rather than towards the West. In many cases they have come out of Churches in China with a long record of ecumenism, but in the process of becoming established in South-East Asia, of being the Churches of an immigrant population, they have become separatist, suspicious of any kind of involvment. Where they have joined up with other Churches, either in organic union, or in Christian Councils, I believe it could be shown to have been in most if not all cases under western missionary pressure or for the purpose of some very practical advantage, e.g. vis-a-vis immigration authorities, which membership might bring.

The relationships between the Chinese speaking Churches and the other Churches of South-East Asia might well be the right starting point for the study of the whole problem of the relations of the Overseas Chinese and the indigenous populations in that region and the search for the Christian answer.

IV

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE, DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, U.S.A.

By

Prof. Walter W. Sikes

The Council on Christian Unity of the Disciples of Christ, through its Department of Ecumenical Studies, established (1958) a Commission on Rapid Social Change, intended to serve as a liaison between the churches and agencies of its own commission and the rapid social change study organized by the World Council of Churches.

The Commission

Immediately following the establishment of the Commission the agency most obviously involved in meeting the situation of rapid social change, namely the Department of Christian Action and Community Service of the United Christian Missionary Society, became a joint sponsor of the Commission and its programme. Executives and administrators responsible for missions at home and abroad were appointed to the Commission either as members or as consultants. Indeed, in constituting the Commission, attention was given to involving persons of two general categories as defined by their vocational life and responsibility.

Members of the Commission include persons responsible for strategies and programmes in missions, evangelism, social education and action, ecumenical study and service, theological education, church publications, and similar denominational offices, as well as theologians, social scientists, labour leaders and industrial managers, religious writers and college administrators, pastors and seminary professors. Of the approximately twenty members of the Commission some fifteen have had tours of duty abroad, and all are in positions of responsibility in relation to the church and in their influence on public opinion and policy.

The Commission addressed itself to four questions:

"I. Do the churches have a conception of society, of social change, and of the nature and function of the Church in relation to a changing society that is adequate to the situation of rapid social change?... This will be an effort at self-examination and self-evaluation.

"II. What in fact are the manifestations of rapid social change in our society...and what is the impact such change is having on the life of the people?...

"III. What are the moral, spiritual and religious problems raised or accentuated by the fact of rapid social change?...This will be an effort to bring the social, political and economic situation under the criticism of theological and ethical categories....

"IV. What is the significance of the present social change for the policy and programme of the churches - their missionary enterprise, programmes of social welfare, educational responsibilities, relations to secular institutions and activities?....This will be an effort to examine and evaluate present efforts of the churches so to respond, and to point up practical measures, which the churches may consider in devising future policies and programmes."

As a first step toward these objectives in what was initially seen as a three year programme, the Commission undertook to acquaint itself with what was already being actually said and done by churches and church bodies relevant to these points of inquiry. It set up three task forces to look up, analyse and interpret statements, strategies and programmes which had a bearing on the whole scope of Christian responsibility toward rapid social change.

It soon appeared however that the Commission needed to expose itself more directly to the facts of rapid social change in one or more of the areas indicated by the World Council study - Asia, Africa, Latin America. In pursuit of this the Commission accordingly projected a consultation in the Carribean, January 27th to February 2nd, 1961

Consultation in the Caribbean

The time was unequally divided between Haiti and Puerto Rico. It became clear as the consultation developed that it would scarcely have been possible to have selected two more diverse and crucial areas for revealing what is going on in Latin America.

1) Haiti

Haiti presented a tragic scene. A tour of Port-au-Prince and environs, discussions with religious, educational and political leaders (two nationals and two foreigners in responsible positions and with significant experience in Haiti, plus incidental contacts with others), and background materials in the form of reports, articles in journals and recent books provided our sources of information A number of persons had been killed in street-fighting the night before the arriva of our group. As we closed our discussions and were departing, it was reported that a new government might replace the present one almost immediately.

Haiti is an excellent example of an under-developed country where social change is not rapid; indeed, it seems to be as yet non-existent. The poorest country in all the Americas, with $70 per capita annual income, it nevertheless supports a small, quite wealthy, socially complacent power elite. Appalling illiteracy (85%), widespread unemployment in a declining economy, dependent on primitive agriculture, on tourism as yet largely undeveloped, and on exports (sugar, coffee, sisal) which are somewhat improved over a half-century ago but far less than they were a century and a half ago and still woefully inadequate, no industry to speak of, mass poverty - this adds up to an all but hopeless situation.

The poverty of leadership is evident, and the practical non-existence of a middle class makes it difficult to envisage any kind of democratic regime in the immediate future. There have been revolutions aplenty in the recent past. Indeed the previous regime was overthrown in 1957 by a kind of non-violent general strike which paralyzed the economy in an almost total work stoppage. And since 1951 there have been a score of revolutions, most of them exceedingly violent. But unhappily the more the government changes, the more it is the same. For the real power lies in the small, wealthy, socially indifferent and exploitative class at the apex of the feudalistic pyramid. And it does not change - or has not done so until now.

Superficially, there seems to be no problem of racial tension. Racial amalgamation is almost complete among the old French, the Spanish, the African immigrants and the original inhabitants. Also Haiti has been politically autonomous long enough not to feel the violent revulsion against the Western, white powers which is felt in many areas not yet free from or only recently freed from colonial control. But there appears on closer observation, a definite ethnic stratification according to which the descendents, or alleged descendents, of the old French nobility maintain positions of power and privilege and perpetuate many kinds of discrimination against the old native and more recent immigrant population.

There are, however, some harbingers of hope. For one thing, there is well under way, led by the churches, a "Lit-Lit" programme through which some 50,000 to 100,000 have learned to read in less than twenty years, since the orthography of the Kreol language was standardized in 1941. This gain has taken place mostly in the last five years or so. And along with this literacy campaign, spear-headed by a Committee on Literacy representing fourteen Protestant denominations, and a parallel effort by the Roman Catholic Church, a community development programme is emerging, one principal aspect of which is the building of credit unions in a society where small credit is scarce and interest rates excessive. The Albert Schweitzer Hospital under Dr. Larimer Mellon is a very effective health and community centre. An economic and technical assistance programme by the United States was initiated a few years ago as one of the Point IV projects. But indifference on the part of the ruling powers in Haiti has largely frustrated its efforts.

2) Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico presented a sharp contrast. Only thirty years ago this island of 2,500,000 people presented a picture much like that of Haiti today. But by every index it now stands at almost the opposite pole. Bursting at its seams with economic activity, a vast programme of industrialization, of commerce, of housing, of education, of health and welfare services has made "Operation Bootstrap" a modern miracle. The optimism and expectancy of the people strikes one as a kind of euphoria, which appears well justified by all the social facts.

Here a statistical account would be out of place; it is enough to remark that the Commission found social change so rapid and so dynamic as to raise a number of important questions - some regarding causal factors and some regarding consequences. Unquestionably one causal factor has been the determination, the energy, and the acceptance of responsibility on the part of the leaders and of the masses of Puerto Ricans. Another has been the freedom from ideological restraints with which they have tackled their economic and social problems. No evidence appears that they have felt the necessity to follow either a doctrinal socialist or capitalist philosophy but have been free to adopt and adapt whatever principles seemed to be relevant and effective in their particular situation. They have a pluralistic economy, with great areas of private and quasi-public economy (e.g. housing and transportation), and wide-spread public services (health and education). The inducements of private profit operate in those sectors where feasible, and public initiative fills in elsewhere. Over-all planning enables the Commonwealth to give rational direction to the whole. Indeed some of our informants regard the National Planning Board, with its integrated regional and local counterparts in every province and town, as the real clue to the "miracle". Yet the operation has not been nor is it now entirely one of pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps. The unique relationship to the United States has given the island tremendous economic, political and social advantage.

One of the unanswered questions concerns the sources and forces which lie behind this willingness to assume responsibility and this ability to discharge it in the areas of social planning, political integrity and competence, economic efficiency, and general welfare. Another question concerns the social consequences of these obvious changes. At first glance, here are people who in one generation have moved from vast poverty, illiteracy, hopelessness and moral confusion to a high standard of living and to a great sense of dignity, pride, and social optimism. While there are yet great gaps to be filled, by the usually applied norms it would appear that Puerto Rico "has it made".

There are, however, several clouds on the horizon. Although healthwise they have reduced the deathrate in less than twenty years from 18.4 per thousand in 1940 to 6 in 1959, the lowest in the world (and at the same time lowered the birthrate from 41 to 29 per thousand), the cardiac problem is increasing. In 1940 only some five hundred deaths were attributed to this cause in the whole island; by 1960 there were more than 10,000 per year.

More disturbing is the question posed by Dr. Richard D. Trent, Director of Research of the Puerto Rico Institute of Psychiatry, who observes that "the influence of the economic progress implicit in Operation Bootstrap has produced and will continue to produce human conflicts and personal stresses among Puerto Ricans". He points out further that the indices of what the French sociologist, Emil Durkheim called anomie are now obvious and increasing. By anomie Durkheim intended to denote the kinds of disorganization, confusion, value-conflicts and normlessness of societies which lead persons to contemplate and some to commit suicide. In present day usage it refers to the situation of a society in inner conflict, confusion of values, and cultural disorientation. Trent's studies of Puerto Rican society enable him to show that this is taking place there, for instance, in relation to disruption of the family (through emphasis on individual

success and the necessity for all the income every member of the family can earn), less attention to the children in the home, and a corresponding growth in aggressive acts by young people. He contends that the changes now in process are by no means all social gain, particularly since the value-system appears to be shifting from "the pleasure of being" to that of "doing" and toward "an over-evaluation of money as a symbol of prestige, power, and status". Incidentally, he refers to this whole trend as "a subtle shift toward the Americanization of the Puerto Rican" - an observation to be pondered by American Christians who were in this consultation as well as by others.*

These and similar questions pressed themselves upon this Commission. Accordingly the present disposition of the group is to move toward an inquiry into the meaning of contemporary rapid social change in terms of urbanized, technologized culture. The agenda for the succeeding stages of the Commission's task have not yet been fixed. Full weight must be given to the decisions yet to be made (probably at and in consequence of the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches), but there emerged during the Caribbean meetings a definite desire to focus attention upon the dynamic movements in Western societies, with particular attention to the culture emerging in the United States, its meaning for the churches, and its impact on neighbouring cultures and peoples.

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* "Psychological Implications of Puerto Rico's Economic Development", by Richard D. Trent, in Economic Pulse of Puerto Rico. October, 1960